

Message Text

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USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE
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WH FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: YO, US, CH, KN

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI, AT HIS REQUEST, CALLED ON
ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE ON AUGUST 29 FOR A BRIEFING
ON THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO CHINA. BOTH BELOVSKI AND
HOLBROOKE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS BRIEFING AS
A FURTHER EXAMPLE OF HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL DIALOGUE
BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. HOLBROOKE ASKED BELOVSKI
TO BE SURE THAT PRESIDENT TITO WAS INFORMED ABOUT IT,
AND REQUESTED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS BRIEF US IN TURN ON
PRESIDENT TITO'S VISITS TO NORTH KOREA AND CHINA. ON
THE SECRETARY'S VISIT, HOLBROOKE STRESSED THAT IT WAS
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VALUABLE AS THE FIRST THOROUGH EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE NEW
ADMINISTRATIONS IN PEKING AND WASHINGTON AND HE DES-
CRIBED THE CHINESE LEADERS AS CONFIDENT AND OPTIMISTIC.
ON BILATERAL ISSUES, HOLBROOKE STRESSED THAT TAIWAN
WAS CLEARLY THE CENTRAL QUESTION TO BOTH SIDES, AND THAT
THESE EXCHANGES WERE EXPLORATORY WITH NO EARLY RESOLU-
TION EXPECTED. THE CHINESE REITERATED THEIR THREE
CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION, AND THE SECRETARY RE-
ITERATED THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE OF WILLINGNESS TO MOVE

FORWARD. ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, HOLBROOKE SAID THAT THE EXCHANGE WAS WORTHWHILE WITH PARALLEL VIEWS ON SOME ISSUES AND DIVERGENT VIEWS ON OTHERS. THE SECRETARY ANSWERED CHINESE CLAIMS THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT STANDING UP TO THE SOVIETS SUFFICIENTLY, ESPECIALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA. THE SECRETARY BRIEFED THE CHINESE ON THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM KOREA WHILE ASSURING SECURITY AND STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA. THE CHINESE RAISED THE BALKANS AS A PROBLEM AREA, AND WERE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA. THE SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. WOULD VIEW SOVIET INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA WITH THE "GRAVEST CONCERN" BUT HE AVOIDED A CATEGORICAL STATEMENT ON WHAT THE U.S. RESPONSE MIGHT BE. THE MAIN CHINESE OBSESSION WAS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS A GROWING DANGER. BELOVSKI EXPRESSED HIS DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THIS BRIEFING, PROMISED TO PASS IT TO PRESIDENT TITO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND SAID THAT THE YUGOSLAVS WOULD PROVIDE A THOROUGH BRIEFING ON PRESIDENT TITO'S ASIAN TRIP. END SUMMARY.

1. BELOVSKI BEGAN BY STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATION BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS,
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STRESSING THAT THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP WAS DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE BOTH OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO TITO AND OF THE BRIEFING TO TITO'S DELEGATION IN MOSCOW ON SECRETARY VANCE'S RECENT TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE U.S. ALSO ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS DIALOGUE AND THAT SECRETARY VANCE PERSONALLY WAS AWARE OF THIS BRIEFING AND WANTED PRESIDENT TITO TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PEKING. HOLBROOKE SAID THAT THE U.S. LEADERSHIP HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR PRESIDENT TITO AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF HIS IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS FIRST VISIT TO PEKING.

2. TURNING TO THE SECRETARY'S VISIT ITSELF, HOLBROOKE SAID IT WAS A GOOD VISIT, AND WAS ESPECIALLY VALUABLE AS THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPREHENSIVE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO NEW ADMINISTRATIONS. AT THE FAREWELL BANQUET THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD DESCRIBED THE TALKS AS "EARNEST AND SIGNIFICANT", A PHRASE WITH WHICH WE AGREE. THE SECRETARY WAS VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED WITH THE LEADERS HE MET, INCLUDING FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, DEPUTY PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, AND CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. THE CALL ON CHAIRMAN HUA WAS MAINLY A COURTESY CALL, BUT IT SIGNALLED THE

APPROVAL OF THE VISIT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND WAS THEREFORE SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT. THE TALKS WITH VICE PREMIER TENG WERE MORE DETAILED, AND TENG SEEMED VERY MUCH TO BE IN CHARGE. THE SECRETARY WAS VERY IMPRESSED BY HIM. HOLBROOKE DESCRIBED TENG AS THE MOST INTERESTING MAN IN THE COUNTRY, HAVING RECENTLY BEEN REHABILITATED FOR THE SECOND TIME. TENG HIMSELF HAD REFERRED TO HIS ERRATIC CAREER AND DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "A FAMOUS MAN" BECAUSE OF IT. THE U.S. IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE PRC LEADERS WERE NEWLY CONFIDENT AND OPTIMISTIC. THE ELIMINATION

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OF THE GANG OF FOUR, WHICH CONSTITUTED AN OPPOSITION FACTION IN THE COUNTRY, HAD PRODUCED THIS SENSE OF CONFIDENCE. HOLBROOKE COMMENTED THAT PRESIDENT TITO COULD NOT HAVE GONE TO CHINA IF THE GANG OF FOUR HAD STILL BEEN THERE.

3. THE SECRETARY MADE IT CLEAR TO THE CHINESE THAT THE PRC IS CENTRAL TO U.S. GLOBAL POLICY. THE TWO SIDES DISCUSSED BILATERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, AND A WIDE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS. ON BILATERAL MATTERS, THE KEY ISSUE, OF COURSE, WAS TAIWAN, WHICH WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO BOTH SIDES. NO AGREEMENTS WERE EXPECTED AND NONE WERE REACHED. THESE TALKS, AS THE SECRETARY HAD NOTED PUBLICLY WERE "EXPLORATORY" BUT NONETHELESS VERY HELPFUL. THE SECRETARY REAFFIRMED THE PRESIDENT'S READINESS TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, IN WHICH THE U.S. DID NOT OPPOSE PEKING'S CLAIM THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA. THIS WAS THE BASIC DOCUMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THE CHINESE REITERATED THEIR THREE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION: TO WITHDRAW RECOGNITION FROM TAIWAN, TO WITHDRAW THE REMAINING AMERICAN TROOPS IN TAIWAN (WHICH NOW NUMBER ABOUT 1,300), AND TO ABROGATE THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY. BELOVSKI ASKED WHETHER THE CHINESE WERE "PRESSING", TO WHICH HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE CHINESE STATE THEIR POSITION, BUT DO NOT PRESS. BELOVSKI ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. GAVE GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM. HOLBROOKE SAID THAT THE SECRETARY REITERATED THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE THAT WE ARE WILLING TO MOVE FORWARD, BUT THE QUESTION IS A DIFFYCULT ONE FROM BOTH SIDES. FROM THE CHINESE SIDE IT IS A QUESTION OF LEGITIMACY, OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE

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UNITED STATES AS THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA.
FROM THE U.S. SIDE, THE MAIN CONCERN IS THAT THE
TAIWAN ISSUE BE RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THE

NEXT STEP IS TO DECIDE HOW TO MOVE FORWARD. WE EXPECT
THAT THE TALKS ON NORMALIZATION WILL CONTINUE, PROB-
ABLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS THIS FALL, BUT WE DO NOT
EXPECT AN EARLY RESOLUTION.

4. ON INTERNATIONAL SUBJECTS, HOLBROOKE SAID THAT
THE TWO SIDES HAD HAD A WORTHWHILE EXCHANGE ON VIRTUALLY
ALL MAJOR GLOBAL ISSUES. AS EXPECTED, WE FOUND OUR
INTERESTS TO BE PARALLEL IN SOME AREAS, AND DIVERGENT
IN SEVERAL OTHERS. WE CONTINUE TO DISAGREE ON DETENTE,
AND ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS GENERALLY, BUT THE SECRE-
TARY MADE CLEAR OUR CONVICTION THAT OUR POLICY TOWARD
THE USSR IS NECESSARY AND CORRECT. WE BELIEVE THAT
THE CHINESE MAY HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING NOW OF
THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION. THE PRC VIEW IS THAT
THE U.S. IS NOT BEING STRONG ENOUGH IN OPPOSING THE
SOVIETS. THE SECRETARY, IN HIS PRESENTATION, STRESSED
THE IMPORTANCE OF NEW LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON WHICH
IS FRESH AND CONFIDENT, WITH THE TRAUMAS OF VIET NAM
AND WATERGATE BEHIND US. HE ADDED THAT WE SHOULD NOT
BE JUDGED ON THE BASIS OF PAST POSITIONS.

5. THE TWO SIDES DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO DIS-
CUSSIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA. THE SECRETARY
SPELLED OUT OUR VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THOSE AREAS,
EXPRESSING THE RESERVED HOPE THAT MOVEMENT WAS IN A
HEALTHY DIRECTION. THE CHINESE WERE CONCERNED THAT
THE U.S. WAS NOT BEING SUFFICIENTLY TOUGH AGAINST
WHAT THEY DESCRIBED AS RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM, PAR-
TICULARLY IN AFRICA.

6. ON KOREA, THE SECRETARY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE
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PRESIDENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN
FORCES AND THAT THIS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT PRUDENTLY
IN A MANNER TO INSURE STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA
AND SECURITY IN THE REGION. THE CHINESE SAID THEIR
PIECE, ENDORSING THE NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON PEACEFUL
REUNIFICATION. HOLBROOKE ADDED AT THIS POINT THAT WE
WOULD BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN PRESIDENT TITO'S
IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS VISIT TO NORTH KOREA.

7. THE OTHER SUBJECT WHICH THE CHINESE SEEMED MOST
CONCERNED ABOUT, SAID HOLBROOKE, WAS THE BALKAN REGION,
AND ESPECIALLY YUGOSLAVIA. THE CHINESE EXPRESSED
STRONG SUPPORT FOR CLOSER U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS,

AND INDICATED THAT THEY WERE VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO PRC. BUT THE CHINESE

REPEATEDLY RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD VIEW WITH THE GRAVEST CONCERN ANY SOVIET INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA, BUT HE AVOIDED BEING PINNED DOWN. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT OUR PRECISE RESPONSE WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED IN THE LIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANCES EXISTING AT THAT TIME. BELOVSKI ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY HAD DISCUSSED THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA, TO WHICH HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE SECRETARY DID NOT FEEL THAT IT WAS AN APPROPRIATE SUBJECT FOR U.S.-CHINA DISCUSSIONS. BELOVSKI ALSO ASKED WHETHER ALBANIA HAD COME UP. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT ALBANIA WAS NOT ONCE MENTIONED BY THE CHINESE IN ANY CONTEXT, AND HE THEREFORE BELIEVED THAT THE CHINESE CLEARLY FEEL SENSITIVE ABOUT THE ALBANIAN ATTACKS. ASKED IF THE TALKS HAD TOUCHED ON NON-ALIGNMENT, HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE TALK OF NON-ALIGNMENT

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AS SUCH ALTHOUGH THE TWO SIDES DISCUSSED SPECIFIC PARTS OF THE THIRD WORLD, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, ETC.

8. THE MAIN CHINESE OBSESSION, SAID HOLBROOKE, WAS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH THEY DESCRIBED AS A GROWING DANGER. THEY REPEATED THEIR THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS (PERHAPS AN INDIRECT RESPONSE TO RECENT ALBANIAN CRITICISM). THE MAIN POINT, HOWEVER, SEEMED TO BE THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO SUPER POWERS, WITH THE U.S. DEFENDING ITS INTERESTS AND THE SOVIET UNION SEEKING TO EXPAND ITS INTERESTS. BELOVSKI INTERJECTED THAT THIS SEEMED TO BE AN APT DESCRIPTION, ADDING THAT NO COUNTRY CAN SUCCEED BY GOING BEYOND ITS NATURAL BOUNDARIES. SOCIALISM, HE SAID, WOULD HAVE GOTTEN OFF TO A VERY DIFFERENT START, AND WOULD BE VERY DIFFERENT NOW HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE INFLUENCES OF THE RUSSIAN CZAR, OF RUSSIAN PRIMITIVISM, AND THE ABSENCE OF PEASANT PARTICIPATION IN THE RUSSIAN RESOLUTION. YUGOSLAVIA, HE CONTINUED, WAS THE FIRST EUROPEAN COUNTRY (STRESSING EUROPEAN) TO PRACTICE SOCIALISM. THE REVOLUTION THERE WAS NOT CONFINED TO TWO CITIES, BUT WAS A NATIONAL UPRISING IN WHICH THE MOBILIZED PEASANTS WERE ACTIVELY INVOLVED. IT THEREFORE HAD A BROAD BASIS. IN CHINA THERE HAD SIMILARLY BEEN LONG REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE, AND THE REMARKABLE THING ABOUT THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONAIRES WAS THEIR ABILITY TO ORGANIZE AND TO MANAGE A SOCIETY OF 900,000,000 PEOPLE.

9. BELOVSKI ASKED WHETHER IN THE U.S. VIEW THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WAS OUTWARD LOOKING. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT SPEAKING PERSONALLY HE THOUGHT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WOULD "DE-MOIFY" CHINA UNDER THE BANNER OF MAO. THEY HAVE ADOPTED A STRONG PRAGMATIC APPROACH ON MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL

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QUESTIONS. HOLBROOKE CONTINUED THAT CHINESE ACCESS TO MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WAS A KEY POINT. UNDER MAO, SUCH ACCESS HAD ALWAYS BEEN LIMITED BY CHARGES OF SELLING OUT TO IMPERIALISM, OR SOME SUCH SLOGAN. NOW THE CHINESE ARE TURNING TO JAPAN, TO WESTERN EUROPE, TO YUGOSLAVIA, TO THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS. BUT IT STILL SEEMS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL AVOID DEPENDENCE ON ANY ONE SUPPLIER.

10. BELOVSKI ASKED ABOUT THE CHINESE ATTITUDE ON U.S.-CUBA RELATIONS. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE TWO SIDES REALLY DID NOT DISCUSS THE QUESTION ALTHOUGH U.S. SIDE BRIEFLY MENTIONED THE STEPS TOWARDS THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA. BELOVSKI ASKED ABOUT THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS IN AFRICA, TO WHICH HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE CHINESE REGARDED THE CUBANS IN AFRICA PURELY AS SOVIET AGENTS. BELOVSKI COMMENTED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE HORN OF AFRICA WAS POTENTIALLY A MUCH MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION THAN SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN PART BECAUSE THE SOVIETS COULD RELY ON LOCAL SUPPORT IN SOME PARTS OF THE HORN OF AFRICA, PARTICULARLY THE SUDAN.

11. HOLBROOKE ASKED THAT THIS BRIEFING BE PASSED TO PRESIDENT TITO AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY, SINCE TITO WAS DUE TO ARRIVE IN PEKING IN A MATTER OF HOURS. HE AGAIN EXPRESSED OUR INTEREST IN BEING INFORMED ABOUT PRESIDENT TITO'S DISCUSSIONS IN CHINA AS WELL AS KOREA. HE CONCLUDED BY REITERATING THE IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ATTACH TO THIS DIALOGUE, AND RECALLED THE VERY FAVORABLE TREATMENT WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS HAD ACCORDED TO THE VICE PRESIDENT EARLIER THIS YEAR. BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT HE WOULD TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE

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AND WOULD SEEK TO HAVE A REPLY FOR US SOON AFTER PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT IS CONCLUDED. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO GET A VERY FULL RUN-DOWN DURING THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY EDVARD

KARDELJ IN LATE SEPTEMBER. CHRISTOPHER

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